

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 EB-07

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H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2904

RUFHJA /AMEMBASSY BERLIN UNN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

EC BRUSSELS 1329

C O N F I D E N T I A L USBERLIN 1617

E.9.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, EC, WB, GW, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET STATEMENT ON BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN EC PARLIAMENT

REFS: A) MOSCOW 12265 (NOTAL), B) STATE 192373,
C) BONN 12708, D) USBERLIN 1553, E) USBERLIN 1505

1. WE USED DEPARTMENT'S PRESS LINE TO RESPOND TO
INITIAL INQUIRIES ON SOVIET STATEMENT AUGUST 4. SENAT
PRESS SPOKESMAN HAS STATED THAT SENAT PROCEEDS
IN AGREEMENT WITH ALLIES AND FRG FROM PREMISE THAT
WEST BERLIN IS PART OF EC AREA, THAT "NATURALLY IT
MUST ALSO BE REPRESENTED IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,
AND THAT SELECTION OF BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES WILL TAKE
PLACE IN CONFORMITY WITH CITY'S STATUS AND EXITING
PROCEDURE.

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2. MOST INTERESTING ASPECT OF SOVIET PROTEST, IT

SEEMS TO US, IS THAT SOVIETS CHOSE TO PUBLISH AT LEAST ITS MAJOR PORTIONS VERBATIM IN TASS. THIS IS, OF COURSE, CONTRARY TO NORMAL PRACTICE AND MAKES IT LIKELY THAT ISSUE WILL BECOME ENMESHED IN FRG ELECTION CAMPAIGN -- AT LEAST IF ALLIES OR FRG SHOW ANY SIGN OF YIELDING TO SOVIET WISHES. THIS SUGGESTS TO US THAT SOVIETS WISH TO SIGNAL SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THEY ARE APPROACHING ISSUE. IT ALSO SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MAY BE AT LEAST AS INTERESTED IN LAYING DOWN A MARKER FOR THE FUTURE AS IN PRODUCING IMMEDIATE RESULTS SINCE THEY MUST REALIZE THAT PROSPECTS FOR OBTAINING ANY REAL CONCESSIONS FROM WESTERN SIDE ARE LESSENERED BY TIMING AND PUBLICITY GIVEN THEIR DEMARCHE. SOVIETS MAY ALSO HAVE DECIDED, WITH EXAMPLE OF LEAK OF THEIR PROPOSAL FOR EXCHANGING QA ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES FRESH IN MIND, THAT THEIR STATEMENT WOULD GET INTO PRESS QUICKLY AND THAT THEY MIGHT AS WELL ENSURE THAT THEIR WORDS WERE REPORTED PROPERLY. IN ANY EVENT, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THERE IS MORE OF A MANAGED STAGE SHOW EFFECT TO THIS DEMARCHE THAN HAS BEEN NORMAL IN OTHER QA DISPUTES OF RECENT YEARS.

3. A SECOND ELEMENT THAT STRIKES US AS UNUSUAL IS EXTENT OF PROFESSED SOVIET IGNORANCE. BONDARENKO'S ORAL COMMENTS SUGGEST THAT SOVIETS MAY BE SOMEWHAT MISINFORMED ABOUT RELATIVELY LIMITED NATURE OF IMMEDIATE EC PLANS AND MAY ACCORDINGLY BE READING WORST INTO SITUATION. WE HAVE NEVER HEARD, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT EC CONVENTION OR COUNCIL DECISION ON DIRECT ELECTIONS WOULD INCLUDE ANYTHING LIKE COMMON CITIZENSHIP PROVISIONS TO WHICH BONDARENKO REFERRED. THIS MAY BE GARBLE OF CONCURRENT IDEA OF COMMON EUROPEAN PASSPORT, BUT THIS WOULD ITSELF INDICATE CONFUSION ON SOVIET SIDE SINCE WE UNDERSTAND THAT WHAT IS BEING DISCUSSED IS MORE A STANDARDIZATION OF NATIONAL PASSPORTS THAN DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW SUPRANATIONAL DOCUMENT.

4. QUESTION THAT NATURALLY ARISES IS WAHT RESPONSE ALLIES MIGHT MAKE. WE HAD PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES CONSIDER FORESTALLING SOVIET DEMARCHE BY TAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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INITIATIVE OURSELVES TO BRIEF SOVIETS BOTH ON LIMITED AND ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE NATURE OF OUR DECISION

AND ON OUR FIRMNESS TO IMPLEMENT THAT DECISION (REF E). WE TAKE EMBASSY'S POINT THAT (REF C) SUCH AN APPROACH CONTAINS DANGER THAT SOVIETS COULD MINITERPRET OUR SOOTHING NOISES AS HINT THAT ALLIES HAD MADE BASIC DECISION TO DRAW LINE AT INDIREDT ELECTION OF BERLIN

DEPUTIES AND WOULD NOT PERMIT BERLIN PARTICIPATION IN FURTHER EC DEVELOPMENTS. SOVIET STATEMENT, HOWEVER, CHANGES CALCULUS. WE WILL NOW NEED TO SAY SOMETHING. WE MIGHT ADDRESS LARGER ISSUES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES FOR BERLIN AS SOVIET STATEMENT AT LEAST INDIRECTLY INVITES US TO DO. ALTERNATIVELY, WE CAN PRESENT A NARROWLY FOCUSED REPLY WHICH WOULD SEEK TO LIMIT CONTENTIOUS AREAS OF PRESENT ISSUE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WHILE LEAVING OUR OPTIONS FOR FUTURE OPEN.

5. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE AND COUNTER TO ALLIES INTERESTS TO ATTEMPT AN ASSESSMENT OF WHAT CAN ONLY BE SPECULATIVE ISSUES OF BERLIN'S ROLE IN A FUTURE INTEGRATED EUROPE. THOSE ISSUES CAN BEST BE RESOLVED AS CONCRETE CASES ARISE WHICH WE CAN JUDGE AGAINST POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE TIME. WE ARE OF COURSE NOT SANGUINE THAT A NARROW EXPLANATORY RESPONSE WOULD SOOTHE SOVIET CONCERNS ABOUT THE "SLIPPERY SLOPE." WE WERE, HOWEVER, STRUCK BY FACT THAT SOVIET OFFICIAL STATEMENT CONTAINS RATHER LESS IN WAY OF THREATS THAN EITHER INFORMAL COMMENTS MADE OVER LAST WEEKS BY MEMBERS OF SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST BERLIN OR RECENT SOVIET RADIO COMMENTARIES. THIS (AND FACTORS DISCUSSED PARA 2 ABOVE) SUGGESTS TO US THAT SOVIETS ALSO ARE LEAVING MOST OF THEIR OPTIONS OPEN FOR FUTURE AND HAVE PROBABLY NOT WORKED OUT PRECISELY WHAT STEPS THEY WILL TAKE IF CITY ACTUALLY DOES SEND DEPUTIES TO NEW PARLIAMENT. THAT DAY OF RECKONING, AFTER ALL, IS AT LEAST TWO YEARS AWAY. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT FINAL SOVIET DECISION THEN WOULD DEPEND TO CONSIDERABLE EXTENT ON ASSESSMENT OF THEIR OVERALL RELATIONS AND INTERESTS VIS A VIS WEST, CONFIDENTIAL

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FACTORS WHICH ARE SIMPLY NOT FULLY CAPABLE OF JUDGMENT NOW. OUR OBJECTIVES WOULD SEEM TO US, THEREFORE, TO BE A) TO CLEAR UP AS MANY FACTUAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS AS POSSIBLE, B) TO EXPLAIN LIMITED CONSERVATIVE NATURE OF DECISIONS THAT HAVE THUS FAR BEEN TAKEN, AND C) TO SIGNAL OUR FIRMNESS WITH REGARD TO THOSE DECISIONS WHILE LEAVING OUR OPTIONS ON LARGER QUESTIONS AT LEAST AS OPEN AS SOVIETS HAVE LEFT THEIRS. THIS MAY SUGGEST THAT WE WILL NEED TO DEVELOP BOTH A FORMAL RESPONSE TO SOVIET STATEMENT AND SOMEWHAT FULLER TALKING POINTS FOR BENEFIT OF WHATEVER ALLIED OFFICIALS DELIVER THAT STATEMENT THAN IS NORMALLY CASE. GEORGE

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